131 zone around Parícutin Volcano, are the remaining
101 predominantly Tarascan settlements in the *tierra templada*, the upper part of the plateau escarp-
[162] ment (2 percent of Tarascan population in 1940).
[191] Formerly an important part of the Tarascan Empire, the hot lands of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Basins (*tierra caliente*, Jurío) have lost completely the last vestige of spoken Tarascan.

A small number of Tarascan-speaking folk live in some of the larger mestizo towns adjacent to the main Tarascan area: Uruapan, Pátzcuaro, Coeneo, Zacapu, Zamora. With the possible exception of a few old households in Uruapan, the presence of aboriginal speech in the large mestizo settlements probably represents a recent influx
● [166] from rural areas (a desire for urban life, migration from the volcano-devastated areas) rather than linguistic remnants.

THE PHYSIOGRAPHIC AREAS

133 **The Sierra.**—The Tarascan "Sierra" is not a mountain chain; it is rather a volcanic plateau, whose average elevation is some 1,500 feet higher than that of the surrounding areas and whose surface has been roughened by large composite volcanoes, scores of small cinder cones, and extensive lava flows (*malpaís*). Lying within Mexico's transcontinental volcanic axis, the Sierra is the locale of the country's newest active volcano, Parícutin.[3] Within the central part of the area elevations range from 6,900 feet to over 12,660 feet (Cerro de Tancítaro). The altitude of the plateau increases from west to east. Elevations of towns in the western half of the Sierra range from 5,180 feet (Atapan) to 7,800 feet (Pamatácuaro); in the eastern half, from 8,040 feet (Sevina) to 8,460 feet (Cumachuén), the highest pueblo in the Sierra west of Lake Pátzcuaro. Even higher settlements (e. g. the rancho of Cruz Gorda, 8,987 feet) exist southeast of the lake, and the highest point in Michoacán, the Cerro de San Andrés (12,840 feet), lies in the Sierra de Ozumatlán, 62 km. east of Morelia.

Tertiary and Quaternary vulcanism has produced the major land forms in the Sierra (map 2). In age the volcanic forms range from probably Eocene to the present time. The oldest are massive composite volcanoes, the highest and most

[3] The chief scientific references on the Parícutin Volcano include Ordóñez (1945), Robles Ramos (1943), Pérez Peña (1945), Mexico City Universidad Nacional Instituto de Geología (1945).

177 Lerma delta plain at the eastern end of Lake
191 Chapala.[22]

In the north, land was granted and cattle *estancias* were established soon after the voluntary submission of the Tarascan chiefs in 1522. By 1540 most of the best pastures between Lake Cuitzeo and Lake Chapala were in the hands of Spanish ranchers (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 76, 77, 117, etc.), and by 1600 most of northern Tarasca was taken up by cattle and sheep ranches, forming the southern part of the great colonial ranching area of north-central Mexico. In well-watered spots Spaniards also established
[464] irrigated wheat farms, worked by *repartimiento* labor from Tarascan villages nearby, e. g. around Chilchota and Indaparapeo (Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Chilchota, 1581; Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, pp. 78, 133).

These Spanish settlements, located between
● [164] Indian pueblos, were centers of acculturation for natives who came to work permanently as herdsmen or farmers. Associating with mulatto and Negro cattle hands (who became numerous in Michoacán during the 17th and 18th centuries), Indians gradually lost their Tarascan speech and intermarried with the invading element, begetting mixed offspring. Spanish and mulatto families also established households in many reorganized Indian pueblos (e. g. Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Chilchota, etc.), the Indian population being relegated to *barrios*, or native quarters in the town. There, too, acculturation took place. Furthermore, at least two Spanish towns were founded in the northern area—Valladolid (Morelia) and Zamora—in both of which were
[166] established *barrios* for Indians who came to live as laborers and traders.

In spite of active Spanish and mulatto settlement in the North, the loss of native speech was slow. By the mid-18th century Tarascan-speaking folk comprised between 50 and 75 percent of the total population in the northern plateau of Michoacán, and many pueblos were still entirely native in speech [23] (map 8). These percentages

[22] The pastures of the lower Lerma were famed throughout New Spain for their abundant winter forage. During the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of sheep were annually driven there from Querétaro, Toluca, the Valley of Mexico, and other distant places. (Mus. Nac. (Col. Gómez Orozco), Rel. de Querétaro; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 2, p. 14; Arregui, 1946, p. 60.)

[23] The language maps (8 and 9) were compiled chiefly from church *padrones*,
[127] or lists of confessors of each inhabited place in the diocese of Michoacán. Such lists are extant in the Archivo del Arzobispado de Michoacán (AAM), Morelia. *Padrones* for 1742, 1746, and 1788, plus population and linguistic information from Villaseñor y Sánchez: Theatro Americano, 1746–48, were employed to construct the map for 1750. For that of 1800 the writer used *padrones* for 1798, 1800, 1801, 1805, 1806, and 1810. Information for the latter map was much less complete than for the former.

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

563 **The western area.**—Immediately west of the
191 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
177 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1800. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado", in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 271-273; Romero, 1882.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 22-b]

191 and Cumachuén (62 percent monolingual). Moreover, the pueblos of La Cañada, adjacent to modern transportation facilities, are surprisingly monolingual (59 percent). Other scattered, ultraconservative towns, such as Angahuan, Cocucho, and Cheranátzicurin in the Sierra, contain a large number of monolinguals.

731 **Effects of Parícutin Volcano.**—The eruption of Parícutin Volcano early in 1943 caused the redis-
● 166 tribution of some of the Tarascan population.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P 22-C]

166
731 The inhabitants of the completely destroyed towns of Parícutin and Parangaricutiro were transferred to new lands near Uruapan. Those of Parícutin were moved to the new settlement of Caltzontzin, 5 km. east of Uruapan, in February 1943. This pueblo now forms a new island of Tarascan speech in the *tierra templada*. With Government aid the people of Parangaricutiro established a new pueblo near the *rancho* of Los Conejos, 6 km. west of Uruapan, in March 1944. Another new town,
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 23b---ANALYST]

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[EP 23-b]

166
731 called Colonia Dr. Miguel Silva (Villa Silva), was founded by volcano refugees in August 1943, 5 km. southwest of Ario de Rosales, on the upper margins of the *tierra caliente*. The settlement sheltered families mainly from Zirosto and some from Parícutin, Parangaricutiro, and Zacan.[m] [182] The highland Tarascans have encountered several difficulties in the subtropical habitat: increased susceptibility to disease, unfamiliarity with subtropical clay soils, slow adaptation to new crop types. Consequently, within the last year (1945-46) the population of Villa Silva has decreased [161] from approximately 600 to 300, owing to high death rate and movement of families back to the highlands; the new settlement may be abandoned within a short time. Besides resettlement in newly formed pueblos, many of the families from the stricken area have moved permanently to less damaged towns, such as Pamatácuaro, Charapan, Paracho, Uruapan, and Zamora.

[m] The continued activity of the volcano may force the complete abandonment of the partially ruined towns of Zacan and Zirosto. In the spring of 1946 the authorities of Zirosto were seriously considering the removal of the remnants of their townspeople to the *ranchs* of Barranca Seca, 4 km. to the northwest.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 57-b]

438 178 [166] An interesting aspect of cottage industries is their ephemeral character. Owing to movement of artisan families from one pueblo to another and changes in markets and fashions, certain crafts disappear in some towns and reappear in others. In the last 160 years 37 Tarascan villages and *ranchos* have lost old crafts or gained new ones; 27 have retained their characteristic trades (table 2).[134] The pottery industry in Santa Fé [323] de la Laguna dates only from the last quarter of the 19th century, and in 1910 hat making was [294] brought into Jarácuaro by a few political refugees from Pichátaro. A large number of Tarascan [282] towns were famed for leathercrafts (saddles and shoes) during the 18th and 19th centuries, but now, owing to changes in transportation and the rise of factory production, local leather products have almost disappeared. Again, the iron craft [325] of San Felipe de los Herreros has practically vanished, for factory-made articles can be obtained more cheaply from surrounding mestizo towns.

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[134] Insufficient data were at hand to determine possible changes in home industries for 20 towns and ranches.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

spoke both Tarascan and Spanish; his wife told him that his father was *de razon* and he said, "Well, my mother was this also." The other 198 individuals in the sample did not consider that any elaboration other than the answer to the question was necessary — another indication of the relative unimportance of the distinction in the town.

Through all of these explanations it can be seen that place of birth is apparently primary in determining the ethnic group with which one will later (if ever) be identified, with the ability to speak the Tarascan language second in importance. There is evidence that Tarascan as the idiom of the community was no longer in favor even several generations ago. Not only is the use of Tarascan in Paracho limited today to members of the oldest generation, but several people showed their dislike for the language and implied that their parents did not teach it to them, or did so only inadequately. Children today are not learning Tarascan, and this tie with Indian culture is rapidly disappearing.

The place of birth of the parents may be correlated with ethnic origin to determine to what extent the ethnic composition of the community depends on birthplace. The data indicate that either more Mestizos are coming into Paracho from the outside, or that more of the people who have come to Paracho from elsewhere are considered to be Mestizos. In most instances the places whence the parents had emigrated were small Sierra Tarascan villages and towns, considered by Parachoans to be "Indian places." In moving to the larger center these individuals had identified themselves (or had been identified by their children) with the more urban, Mestizo, way of life. Among parents born outside Paracho 54.5 per cent of mothers are classed as Mestiza and 58.0 per cent of fathers are reported as Mestizo.

TABLE 3

"RACE" OF FATHER AND MOTHER ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH [6]

Reported as:	Father born		Mother born	
	Paracho	elsewhere	Paracho	elsewhere
Indian	120	26	143	25
Mestizo	53	36	49	30
Total	173	62	192	55
	χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 14.54		χ^2 with one degree of freedom: 16.33	
	$P < 0.0002$		$P < 0.0001$	

Although a majority of parents born elsewhere are described as Mestizo, others are called Indian. The stereotype of the Indian (not native to Paracho) held by the local citizenry is similar to that reported by other investigators in Mexico.[7] The Indians in near-by communities have the

[6] Parents born in forty-six communities other than Paracho are represented in the total sample.

[7] George Foster, *Empire's Children, The People of Tzintzuntzan*, Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication No. 6 (Washington, 1948), p. 33.
Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1951), pp. 53-54.
Robert Redfield, *Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 75.

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

reputation of being ignorant, backward, and mean. We were told that especially when drunk such Indians "get real mean." One qualification of a "real" Indian is a quick trigger finger, for as one man said, "My *compadre* from Arantepáquaro is real Indian . . . and he killed three fellows one time. And another in Aranza he killed eleven cousins in a fight over lands."

In recent years there has been an influx to Paracho from towns which also have both Mestizo and Indian elements defined in their population. Some of those interviewed came from Charapan, where a local political upheaval had stimulated emigration, others came from villages made uninhabitable by the eruption of Parícutin Volcano. By no means all parents reported to be Mestizos are from families which have come to Paracho in the last generation, however. On the whole, the relationship between the reported Mestizos and Indians is little altered when the "outsiders" are pooled with the locally-born citizens.

In twenty-two instances it was possible to compare the children's responses with those of their parents. In twelve of these instances the child's categorization of his parent was identical with the parent's categorization of his parents — that is, where the child said his father was *de razon*, the father in turn said that his parents were *de razon*. In five instances there was a complete shift in identification between one generation and the next; in five of these five instances children regarded their parents as Mestizo while the parents regarded *their* parents as Indian. In an additional four instances there was a partial change: for example, the child reported a parent as Mestizo, while the parent concerned reported his father to have been Mestizo and his mother to have been Indian.

It is clear from these comparisons that the responses reflect a variable social attitude rather than any commonly perceivable reality. There is nothing to indicate any presence of the notion that one Indian ancestor automatically makes the possessor Indian (or that one Spanish ancestor makes him Mestizo). Where the criteria for ethnic identification are cultural rather than biological such a notion would not be expected.

It may be said that latent attitudes concerning ethnic differences within the community exist, and the answers to a question concerning these differences are suggestive of the criteria upon which the identifications are based. Such insights are helpful in understanding some of the dynamics involved in social as well as spatial mobility.

The most salient feature, from our point of view, is the lack of any intense feeling concerning ethnic identification. It is not easy for the outside observer to set up any demonstrably valid criteria by which to judge the ethnic make-up of the Paracho community. The fact that some 85 per cent of the people are interrelated, at least by marriages, would

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167 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION--extent and sources of immigration; extent and destination of emigration; reasons of migration; trends; restrictive regulation; colonization; etc. See also:

Prehistoric migrations 174
Travel 484
Ethnic stratification 563
Slave trade 667
Colonial dependencies 636
Naturalization 641
Transplantation of conquered populations . . . 728

[p. 12a]

361 in smaller communities in the nearby mountains.

In the absence of documentary evidence, it
361 may be surmised that Cherán is an old settle-
174 ment. Archeological remains occur at several nearby places which may represent the antecedent smaller aboriginal settlements spoken of in tradition. About the period from the founding of the original settlement until 1910 there are few data, documentary or traditional. Although individuals were encountered who claimed to remember the time of the French intervention in Mexico, apparently events in the rest of the country influenced Cherán very little. Some outside settlers apparently lived in the town before 1910. Frequent references
[167] were made to a German family that owned a considerable amount of land and had a pretentious house on the plaza, now in ruins. Physical evidence in the shape of ruined structures suggests there once were a number of families of greater wealth in the town than is now the case, but apparently, with the exception noted, these families were native Tarascans.

During the revolutionary period, the town
361 was in the center of the agrarian movement in
175 Michoacán. This movement was related to the Zapatista movement in Morelos, and residents of other villages claim to have been Zapatistas. As Michoacán is also a Catholic stronghold, some villages participated in the religious wars of the twenties. Cherán, however, seems not to have taken an active part in any of these movements. Nevertheless, it suffered from them, and more particularly from the generalized banditry which operated under the cover of one label or another. Twice the town was attacked and burned in the period shortly before 1920, the last time being almost completely destroyed. Apparently many hundreds were killed or starved to death, while still more made their way to the United States, starting a migration which continued until 1929. Since that time, the tide of migration has been to the town. Probably a majority of families in town, though, have been in the United States or have relatives still living in the States.

Some general details of the flora of Cherán
137 have already been mentioned. Nothing can be added to these remarks, as the region is un-
136 studied botanically. The situation with respect

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Possibly (although not necessarily) of more significance is the summary in table 17. This summation was prepared in the belief that the general class of cause was perhaps more accurately known; in other words, diphtheria as a cause of death very likely is an incorrect diagnosis, but very possibly a pulmonary disease was involved. Particular attention is called to category 3a, *bilis*. It is not at all certain that an intestinal disease is involved. *Bilis* is the catch-all of Cherán medicine. Whenever one is "under the weather," he is apt to say he has *bilis*, and very possibly the concept is a receptacle for whatever beliefs of supernatural disease causation still exist in Cherán. The problem will be elaborated on in the discussion of disease and curing.

Knowledge of emigration is necessary to understand the Cherán population situation. Virtually all the emigration has been to the United States; relatively few persons appear to have emigrated either to other parts of Mexico or to other Tarascan towns. Impressionistically, it would appear that a very considerable portion of the Cherán population has been in the United States. Probably very few families either have not been in the United States or do not have some fairly close relative who is or has been in this country. Too small a sample was taken for statistical data on this point to be valid, but of 28 males interviewed specifically with reference to emigration, 25 had been in the United States. Discussion of the motivations, character, and personal significance of this migration will be given later.

Although many Cherán residents have emigrated, few persons have immigrated. A tanner from Aranza and a butcher from Chilchota, two tilemakers, two school teachers, the secretary, and the tax collector are the only persons known to have settled in the town in recent years. Of these, only the first two regard themselves as permanent residents. Most outsiders are treated as citizens, and there is no bar to purchase of land by outsiders. However, if land is for sale, owners are expected to offer it first to local residents.

If the Cherán population continues to increase to the point that land becomes scarce, it will be interesting to observe whether an emigration pattern again develops. The present

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 986] Sierra Tarascans

war may well have caused a new migration to the United States, for many persons were eager to return if they could be sure of employment. Such a movement, however, would not have the sociological significance of a movement arising more directly out of local conditions. There is no tendency as yet to develop primogeniture in farm holdings. Should farm holdings become so reduced in size as to be indivisible from the Cherán viewpoint, though, it is possible that some such pattern as that of the Irish peasant or the French Canadian might develop the more readily, in view of the already existing tradition of migration.

Class or caste stratification is almost unknown in Cherán. There still remains much of the tradition of town unity so characteristic of Mexican Indian and, to some extent, of rural Mestizo towns. There is much talk of rich and poor but, as indicated in the discussion of economics, a rich man is one who harvests 50 to 100 cargas of maize. A list made out by a "radical" informant contained 14 names, and several people to whom the list was shown agreed that it was approximately correct. Fourteen "ricos" in a town of some 5,000 is hardly a class, particularly when the standards are so low. Formerly these wealthy men would have tended to occupy most of the town offices, but today this is not the case. As one informent put it, "We now elect moderately poor people as persons who know work and necessity better and who will thus better discharge the work of their office." Wealthy men are still accorded a modicum of respect and relatively little envy. Only two of the rich men are considered to have inherited all their property, and the others are believed to have reached their present state either wholly or partly by their own efforts. This fact also probably limits envy and dislike. The only occasion when the wealthy form a group is at State and national elections, when, with the storekeepers and a few others, they are apt to be on the more conservative side.

The most influential group at present in Cherán is probably not the wealthy, but the middle class—people who were valiant in fighting against the psuedo-agrarians who once dominated the village, who help the village with money when things are needed, and who "think

754 outside the house and speak in this fashion. They do not have to be close by, however, for a large cherry tree south of town is said to be a favorite roosting place for owl-witches engaged in their occupations.

In addition to persons who come to believe they are bewitched, any sick person who does not recover after treatment is thought to be bewitched. The only remedy in cases of bewitchment is to seek the aid of a good witch. In some cases at least, the good witches are persons taught as other witches are but who refuse to use their knowledge to injure people. Obviously there is room for suspicion of such people. Agustín R. knows a woman who is a good witch (but he refused to introduce us to her or tell her name). The woman is reported to have been taught by her mother who was a bad witch. On her deathbed the mother made the daughter promise never to use her power to injure people. The witch is now teaching her own daughter.

754 Little is known about curing techniques. In
755 the account secured, the good witch goes into an empty house, strikes the walls with a stick, and calls the bad witch. The latter can hear even though as far away as Paracho. The bad witch will come and the two fight. To those outside it sounds like thunder, and the walls shake so it seems they must fall down. But if one has the courage to look inside, everything is calm and peaceful. After a time the friendly witch comes out. If she says she lost the fight, then there is no hope for the patient.

754 In all probability an important reason for the
[167] departure of the Rangel family from Cherán for their long stay in the United States was because of bewitchment. Agustín's mother was bewitched before the family left. She had no specific ailments but felt bad all over and could not get up. Someone told her husband that a certain witch was working on her. Agustín's father then hid in the *barranca* until a woman came with a doll, which he recognized as his wife. He confronted her, but she did not speak. In some way, though, she agreed to give up the witchcraft. Agustín's father threatened to kill the woman if she tried bewitchment again. He took the doll and burned it. If he had merely thrown it away, the

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 18b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

241 goes on because, as Beals says, "The
433 Cherán point of view does not reckon agricultural activity in terms of interest, profits and wages, but in terms of maize in the storage houses."[52]

Monzón,[53] in discussing the Indian problem of Mexico from the point of view of
464 Western civilization, considers the Indians together with the unemployed as a labor reserve, only occasionally put to use. If one views the situation from the point of view of the Western economic system and considers the fact that farming is done at a loss, the great importance of emigration,[54] and the enormous response of labor during
[167] the war when laborers *(braceros)* were contracted to work in the United States, one wonders if the basic factor preserving the self-centered Indian villages and their folk culture is the strength of these, or rather the inability of the Western economic system to absorb those people whom the disruptive tendencies created by this system throw out to the labor market.

Handicrafts are very important to the
438 economy of many Tarascan villages, and
178 changes have to be examined in this field.

Throughout the Colonial and Independence periods, many changes took place in industries and their location. These changes have been described by West.[55] Of interest to our subject are changes as related to the disruptive and conservative tendencies within the villages. The development of modern industry in Mexico and the concomitant higher economic activity have caused, on the one hand, the decline or disappearance of some handicrafts which can not compete with industrial products, and, on the other hand, the further development of handicrafts which have found a better market and no competition.

178 Among the declining industries, the most important are textile handicrafts.
286 Spinning and weaving of white cotton cloth, which was the most important fabric made, have completely disappeared.[56] Women's skirts are increasingly made from factory-manufactured woolens instead of the local hand-made cloth,[57] and industrial cotton or woolen blankets *(tilma, poncho)*
463 are cheaper than the locally made serape,
178 and are frequently used even if the latter are preferred. Ironwork is another extinct craft,[58] leather work has greatly declined,[59]

52. Beals, 1946, 65.
53. Monzón, 1947, 227.
54. Beals, 1946, 98.
55. West, 1948, 56-71.
56. *Ibid.*, 64.
57. *Ibid.*, 65.
58. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
59. *Ibid.*, 69.

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirás*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirás* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirás* is not clear.

TARASCAN

POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[191] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12-b --ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cuseo; Mus. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Matlaltzinca.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1572, vol. 1, p. 131; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
[651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which de-
464 manded indigenous labor were the more important agents in substituting Spanish for the native
● 167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 436–437; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE HUANANCHA DANCE AT THE CORPUS CHRISTI FESTIVAL IN PARACHO, MICHOACÁN, MEXICO*

By Bernice A. Kaplan

178 [167] ONE MIGHT EXPECT in a community which, in recent decades, has seen a great deal of labor migration and the return of these migrants to their native town, that many of the local traditions and folkways would be discarded as more modern ways were adopted. One discovers, however, in getting beneath the surface of the everyday round of affairs that easily meet the eye, that many of the older customs and beliefs are adhered to with great tenacity. It often appears that the actual place of these practices in the structure and functioning of the community is not completely understood by the participants and residents. For example, in the town of Paracho the 533 *Canaquas*, the traditional songs of praise rendered in the native idiom, are 191 often sung for visiting dignitaries. Nonetheless the girls who sing these *Cana-* *quas* do not themselves speak Tarascan, nor do they know what they are singing 186 about. The singers must learn the correct ordering of the syllables by rote from 554 an older woman whose parents spoke the language. Despite this, it is believed that this is the proper way of doing things, and that to do otherwise would mean to lose continuity with the past more rapidly than the inhabitants wish. That the visiting dignitary usually doesn't understand the songs either, is of no concern. Through the singing of the *Canaquas* and the performance of special dances the residents indicate that they are a people with a past and with traditions that are still living, and the visitor in the face of this performance must concur that these, indeed, are a "people."

178 Native dances and *Canaquas*, however, are not everyday affairs. Their per- 533 formance is limited to times of fiesta: the dances, because they are traditionally 535 performed at these times; the *Canaquas*, because the visiting dignitaries most 796 often make their appearance at such festivities. Inasmuch as the transmission of cultural sanctions from one generation to another is often to be found in dance and music one may expect to find in such performances, when they are associated with particular periodic occasions, remnants of a past which may be difficult to trace in the daily activities of the people. These relics provide, 178 however, a dynamic link with the past which, even if not wholly functional in 796 the everyday life of the people, gives them a framework around which to orient

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11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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[P.6]

THE LEGENDS

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[128] The eight Tarascan legends have been arranged in their presumed historical sequence. The creation myth is followed by a
[173] legendary account of tribal wanderings until the beautiful and
[167] abundant land, Michoacán, was reached.

Next are four love stories explaining natural features of the
[175] countryside. The first of these belongs to the period of intertribal wars (1200-1400 A.D.) which eventually consolidated the empire. The second is a simple folk tale explaining the origin of an important spring. Rivalry between political and religious power may be perceived in the third. The fourth reflects palace intrigue and the problems of succession to the throne.

[648] The final two legends deal with the coming of the Spaniards. The first one prophesies their coming and the second presents a rationalization of the Conquest.

[128] The legends are preceded by short notes which place them in historical perspective.

THE BIRTH OF CUERÓHPERI

Historical Comment

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[175] The Tarascans, like other cultured peoples of Mexico and Central America, had knowledge of the calendar. In the *Relación de Michoacán*, a work written probably in 1540-41 by an anonymous Franciscan priest, the names of fourteen of the eighteen Tarascan months of twenty days each are mentioned, and for four of the months the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is given (Caso, 1943).

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292 At the fiesta of *Uazcata cónscuaro* (on June 27,) the chief priest, dressed in full pompous regalia, related the history of the nation and its princes.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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DISCUSSION

539 Tarascan legends may be examined from many viewpoints, including those of history, ethnology, psychology, and literature. Probably the most important consideration is the basic function they fulfill for the Tarascans—a function so significant that the legends have survived to the present. Only a brief analysis of these factors can be made in this study.

539 173 174 [167] As orally transmitted history they leave much to be desired, but they contain usable references which support other data. While one may doubt that the Tarascans originated in South America, as suggested in "Just as the Birds," migration myths are fairly common in the folklore of Indians of the Americas. To some extent they probably indicate dim memories of tribal migrations.

539 796 782 [727] The reference in the legend of Lake Cuitzeo to the placing of the warrior's heart in the temple as an offering to the sun god, Huriata, is a reasonably accurate account of ceremonial usages. In early times the Tarascans made offerings of deer meat to their gods; later, human sacrifice was instituted. War prisoners were preferred, and one reason for war was to have sufficient victims. In any event, the presentation of the victim's heart was the choicest possible offering to Huriata.

539 [198] [193] Items of psychological interest include the need to explain natural features of the countryside, as shown in the story of Quiritzícuaro. The change of Candó from a good to a bad priest in the legend of Huanita may refer to defrocked clergymen of post-Conquest times, but most likely it refers to a period of temporary degeneration among the hereditary priestly class during the days of Chief Tariyaran some two hundred years before Conquest times.

539 175 648 In this same vein, the legend of Inchátiro shows the depressed psychic condition of these indigenous people as the result of the Conquest. The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature

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